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ABSTRACT

As part of a series of studies investigating occupational aspirations, this study explores the relationships between certain types of motivation and the occupational aspirations of black and white female college students. With emphasis on occupations which, by tradition, have been either open or closed to blacks, the design of the study involved three samples of 100 college women from three social settings--white middle class, black middle class, and black working class. Instruments used in the study were the French Test of Insight and the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students. Analysis of the data collected with these instruments revealed no systematic relationships between motivation indices and aspiration to the above occupations. However, it was noted that whites were more indecisive than the blacks regarding their real occupational goals and their ideal occupational goals. Further, it is suggested that black women are more career-oriented and use the same occupations when responding to questions about their ideal goal as they do when stating their real goal. (Author/JS)

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September 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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SUMMARY

This study is one of a series in which the relationships between personality and occupational aspirations have been explored. Previous studies were concerned with the relationships between achievement, affiliation, and power motivation and the aspirations of black male college students to occupations which, by tradition, have been characteristically either open or closed to blacks. The present investigation explores these same variables on samples of black and white women college students. In addition, certain information was obtained about the success expectancies of college women.

The subjects of the study were 300 women. One-hundred of them were enrolled in a White Middle Class college, 100 in a Black Middle Class college, and 100 in a Black Working Class college. The subjects were administered the French Test of Insight, which was coded for the three motives, and the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students, which was used to assess occupational aspirations and success expectancies. With women, the concept of open and closed occupations was not differential by race and the data were analyzed in terms of openness and closedness with respect to all women.

No systematic relationships emerged between the motivation indices and aspiration to occupational traditionally open and closed to women regardless of the race or the social class status of the group examined. Black and white women were found to differ in terms of their frequencies of being undecided both with respect to their real occupational goals and their ideal occupational goals, the white subjects being more undecided than the black women. This appeared to be related to the differential between success expectancies for ideal and real aspirations which was significantly greater for white than for black women. It suggested that black women are more career-oriented than white women and use the same occupations when responding to questions about their ideal goal as they do when stating their real goal.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The research reported here represents one of a series of studies conducted by the author in which the relationships between personality and occupational aspirations have been explored. Previous studies in this series have been concerned with the relationships between achievement motivation (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell, 1953), Affiliation motivation (Shipley and Veroff, 1952) and power motivation (Veroff, 1957) on the occupational aspirations of black male college students (Littig, 1966; 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971). The particular concern of those studies was the exploration of the effects of individual differences in these motives on the aspirations of black males to occupations which had, by tradition, been either open or closed to them. The present study extends this line of investigation to the occupational aspirations of women, both black and white. The intention of the study is to determine whether or not the relationships which have been demonstrated for men will also occur among women. It explores the relationships among achievement, affiliation, and power motivation, in the context of social class differences, on the aspirations of black and white women to traditionally open and traditionally closed occupations. It further extends the research to the issue of the relationship between fear of failure (Atkinson and Litwin, 1960), or anxiety, and aspiration to traditionally open and closed occupations. Unlike the previous studies, however, it deals with a dual problem of accessibility to occupations. In the previous studies in which male subjects were used the concept of occupations traditionally open and closed to black males was conveniently explored by using a white male comparison group. To the extent to which differential aspirations were found to occupations assumed to be open or closed to black males it was possible reasonably to explain these by reference to the personality variables to which they were systematically related. No such possibility exists in the present study. Because of the sexual division of labor in the United States there are broad areas of the occupational spectrum which have been traditionally closed to women, either black or white. Consequently, the current study in this series of studies has an inherent analytical problem in that the appropriate comparison groups--black and white women--function in a labor market which is to some extent exclusionary of both. It addresses itself, in fact, to the fundamental issue of whether or not being black or being a woman is a stronger factor in determining access to the occupational marketplace.

Background

A review of the literature relevant to the issue of personality determinants of occupational aspirations has been presented elsewhere (Littig, 1968; 1971). Only a brief synopsis, therefore, of the findings of the author's earlier studies will be presented here. These findings are summarized as follows. The research has been concerned with the

relationships between achievement motivation, affiliation motivation, power motivation, and the aspirations of students attending middle class black and working class black colleges to occupations which were believed to be traditionally open and closed to blacks. Motivation was assessed by means of content analysis of the Test of Insight (French, 1958) in these studies. Occupational aspirations were determined by means of the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students (Littig, 1965) which, among other things, asked the subject to state the job he expected to have five years after completing his education (his "real" aspiration) and the job he would most like to have (his "ideal" aspiration). College social class was based upon the predominance of students from middle class or from working class family backgrounds. If the majority of students came from families in which the head of the household was employed in a middle class occupation the college was considered to be characterizable as providing a middle class milieu for all students. Similarly, if the majority of students at a college came from families deriving support from persons employed in blue collar capacities the milieu of the college was assumed to be working class for all students.

The hypotheses guiding these previous studies were: (1) middle class college status will be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations and working class status to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations. This hypothesis has been supported (Littig, 1968d; 1971). (2) Strong achievement motivation will be related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations and weak achievement motivation to aspiration to traditionally open occupations. This hypothesis has received mixed support. It was confirmed in an early study (Littig, 1966; 1968b) but was not supported in later studies (Littig, 1968a; 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971). (3) Strong affiliation motivation will be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations and avoidance of traditionally closed occupations. The evidence contradicts this hypothesis (Littig, 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971). Weak affiliation motivation was found to be related to aspiration to traditionally open occupations. Two interactional hypotheses were examined using data obtained from men. These hypotheses were: (4) The effect of achievement motivation on aspiration to traditionally closed occupations will be maximal in a working class college milieu. This hypothesis was supported (Littig, 1968a; 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971). (5) The effect of affiliation motivation on aspiration to traditionally open occupations will be maximal in a middle class college milieu. The data were contradictory to this hypothesis. Rather, aspiration to traditionally open occupations among students at a middle class black college was found to be related to weak affiliation motivation and strong affiliation motivation was found to be related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations. (Littig, 1969; 1971). This finding was interpreted as suggestive of the possibility that strong affiliation motivation may predispose black students in a middle class college environment to seek approval of the dominant white majority by aspiring to occupations in which they will maximize interaction with members of that majority.

Also examined in some of these reports (Littig, 1968a; 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971) was the relationship between power motivation and aspiration of black students to open and closed occupations. No hypotheses had been developed because it seemed equally plausible to argue that power needs could find expression in either a traditionally open occupation, where authority over members of one's ethnic group could be considered to be reasonably likely, or in a traditionally closed occupation in which some probability of attaining authority over members of the dominant group would exist. The data, in fact, conformed to the latter proposition. Strong power motivation was found to be related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations, especially on the part of subjects obtained from the black working class college environment.

The purpose of the present study was to generate data from black and white women subjects which could be subjected to analyses paralleling those applied to data previously obtained from black and white male subjects. To achieve that end measures of achievement, affiliation, and power motivation, of fear of failure, and of occupational aspirations were administered to women students at colleges believed to be predominantly middle class or working class and known to be either predominantly black or predominantly white with the intention of making comparative analyses between black and white subjects' occupational aspirations characterized as being either open or closed to black women. The means of classifying occupations was adopted from Bright (1970) who studied the relationship between motive to avoid success (Horner, 1968) and black women's aspirations to what she characterized as "traditional" and "innovative" occupations. The general strategy of the present study was to classify occupations using Bright's method and then to examine the effects of the personality variables on the occupational aspirations of black and white women with the general expectation being the the effects would be systematic for black women and random for white women. In fact, as will be seen, this proved not to be the case.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects of this research were 200 American born black female college students and a comparison sample of 100 American born white female college students.

Black subjects. Two samples of 100 black subjects were obtained from two traditionally black colleges. On the basis of a classification of the occupations of the fathers of the students in the two samples, one college, from which one sample of 100 was obtained, was designated Middle Class Black¹. The other sample of 100 was designated as coming from a Working Class Black college. Table 1 presents the distributions of fathers' occupations by social class assigned to the college. The Working Class Black college sample comes from homes in which the father has a working class occupation in 72 instances and a middle class occupation in 23 instances. The college sample designated as Middle Class Black is almost evenly divided between middle class (46) and working class (44) fathers' occupations. This is in marked contrast to a sample drawn from this college three years ago in which the middle class and working class proportions were 61 per cent and 39 per cent respectively. The difference between the 1967 and the current sample (1970) is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 13.58$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). This difference is consistent with the impressionistic assessment that there has been a rather rapid change in the population from which middle class black colleges recruit students. As an increasing proportion of middle class black students attend traditionally white schools the schools to which middle class black parents sent their children are increasingly forced to recruit students from working class backgrounds. Nevertheless, in the current sample more students come from middle class than from working class families and a rather pronounced middle class orientation exists among the faculty and the administration. Therefore, the designation of this college as Middle Class Black will be adhered to throughout this report.

White subjects. The white comparison sample was obtained from two state universities. These subjects' fathers occupations were largely middle class (82 per cent) and the white comparison sample was designated as a White Middle Class college group. The distributions of subjects in the three samples by father's occupation and social class status assigned to the colleges are presented in Table 1. The differences for the three colleges are statistically significant. Furthermore, the colleges designated White Middle Class and Black Middle Class are significantly different from each other ($\chi^2 = 20.27$,

1. Social class assignment of father's occupation was based upon the occupational classification developed for the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (1965). Professional, technical, managerial, clerical, and sales occupations were considered to be middle class. All others, except excluded farm occupations, were considered working class.

Table 1

Predominant Social Class Status of Colleges From Occupational
Class of Subject's Father

Father's Occupation	Predominant Class Status Assigned College					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Black		Working Class Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Middle Class	82	82	46	46	23	23
Working Class	17	17	44	44	72	72
Other	1	1	10	10	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
$\chi^2(2df) = 67.19, p < .001$						

$df = 1$, $p < .001$) and the two black colleges are significantly different ($X^2 = 13.17$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). With respect to social class designation, then, the White Middle Class and Black Working Class colleges seem to be appropriately labeled while there remains some ambiguity regarding the actual quality of the social class milieu of the college classified as Middle Class Black.

Instruments

Achievement, affiliation, and power motivation were assessed by means of content analysis (Smith and Feld, 1958) of the Test of Insight (French, 1958). The Test of Insight is a self-reporting, group administered projective device that asks the subject to respond, in writing, to 10 items, such as "Ruth always lets the other fellow win," by reporting what the person is like, what he wants to have or do, and what the result of his behavior are apt to be². These reports are systematically analyzed for the three motives in terms of the dominant nature of the subject's projections. Occupational aspirations were obtained from the subjects' responses to two items on the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students (Littig, 1966): (1) Five years after completing your education what job do you plan to have? (2) What job would you most like to have five years after completing your education if it were possible for you to have any job in the world? The first question defined the subject's real occupational aspiration and the second question her ideal aspiration. The Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students was also used to assess the subjects' expectancies regarding their successful achievement of their real and ideal goals. Fear of failure, or anxiety, was measured by means of the Test Anxiety Questionnaire (Mandler and Sarason, 1952).

Procedure

The Test of Insight, the Test Anxiety Questionnaire, and the Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of College Students were administered, in that order, to the subjects at scheduled times in classrooms of their colleges by women test administrators. A black women administered the tests to the black subjects and a white women administered them to the white subjects. The Tests of Insight were subsequently coded for the three motives by expert coders who had previously shown evidence of high intercoder reliability. Subjects were divided into high and low motivation groups by dividing them as close to their median college group score as the distributions allowed with the exception of achievement motivation. In that case, in all groups, fewer than 50 per cent of the subjects scored greater than zero and these were considered to be high in achievement motivation whereas zero and below scorers were considered to be low in achievement motivation. The median scores for affiliation motivation were 3.5, 3.5, and 2.5 for the Middle Class White, the Middle Class Black, and the Working Class Black groups respectively. For power motivation the median scores were one, zero, and zero respectively and for achievement motivation they were, of course, zero for all groups. It was decided that in the case of power motivation all subjects scoring greater than zero would be considered to be strong in the motive and all subjects scoring zero would be considered to be weak.

Table 2

Numbers of Subjects Classified as High and Low in Achievement,
Affiliation, and Power Motivation for Each College Sample

Class of College	Motivation					
	Achievement		Affiliation		Power	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Middle White	38	62	53	47	65	35
Middle Black	36	64	44	56	46	54
Working Black	33	67	47	53	29	71
$\chi^2_{ach} (2df) = 11.55, p > .50$						
$\chi^2_{aff} (2df) = 1.68, p > .30$						
$\chi^2_{pow} (2df) = 26.05, p < .001$						

Table 2 presents the distributions of subjects by strength of motivation. The distributions are significantly different only in the case of power motivation where subjects designated as coming from a Middle Class White college scored significantly higher and subjects coming from a Working Class Black college scored relatively lower. In similar fashion, high and low Test Anxiety groups were established by median breaks. The median test anxiety scores for the Middle Class white college, the Middle Class Black college, and the Working Class Black college groups were 33.5, 31.5, and 36.5 respectively.

The classification of real and ideal aspirations as being conditional open and closed to black women and open and closed to women generally was undertaken following the procedure described by Bright (1971). Bright determined, on the basis of the 1960 United States Census, occupations in which women achieved greater or less than 50 per cent representation. The former, for example librarian, elementary and high school teacher, social worker, were classified as traditional occupations, whereas the latter, for example, sociologist, journalist, lawyer, were classified as innovative. Of 33 occupations classified by Bright only 6 proved to be innovative for black women and traditional for white women and, of course, none was traditional for black women and innovative for white women. When Bright's classification system was applied to the real and ideal aspirations of the present study extremely few instances occurred in which black subjects aspired to occupations traditionally closed to blacks (i.e., innovative) which were not also traditionally closed to women generally. Consequently, it became obvious that the data could only be analyzed by using as the criterion of openness or closedness the proportional of all women in an occupation. The data, then, reflect the responses of black and white women to an occupational structure which cannot be differentiated in terms of accessibility as a function of race within sex as it could when black and white men's occupational aspirations were compared (Littig, 1966; 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971). What will be examined, then, is the reaction of black and white women to a shared occupational structure in which the concepts of traditionally open and closed apparently have the same meaning, regardless of race.

CHAPTER III RESULTS

The findings of this study will be presented under several headings appropriate to the various variables employed. Before considering these, however, certain characteristics of the samples will be described.

Motivation Scores

Intercorrelations of Scores

Rank order correlations were done within each college class sample between the three possible pairs of motives: achievement-affiliation; achievement-power; affiliation-power. These correlations are presented in Table 3. The average correlation was +.18 with the individual correlations ranging from -.03 between achievement and power among the Working Class Black college sample to +.28 between achievement and affiliation among the Middle Class Black college sample and between affiliation and power for the Middle Class White Sample. The majority of the correlations are significant and consequently the motivation variables cannot be thought of as completely independent. It is likely, however, that the correlations are to some extent artifactual due to the fact that large numbers of subjects in each college group produced insufficient imagery to score for any motive thus producing many tied scores which entered into the computation of the rank order correlation.

Differences in Motivation Scores among the Three Samples

Table 4 presents the mean motive scores for subjects from the three college samples. There are significant differences among colleges over all motive scores, the Working Class Black sample consistently gave the lowest scores. There is also a significant difference among motives without regard to college sample. No interaction is present. The highest score was obtained for affiliation motivation, then power and achievement motivation in that order although the differences between the latter two are minor. These results are similar to those found using comparable male samples (Littig, 1968). The differences among colleges also parallel those found previously using male samples. The previous interpretation (Littig, 1968), that the differences represent, because of the written nature of the task from which the motivation scores were derived and the less adequate training in written expression received by the black subjects in the Working Class Black college sample, an artifact of the test instrument rather than a true difference in magnitude of motivation among the college samples. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the data in Table 4 essentially represent a replication of earlier findings using male subjects.

Table 3
Intercorrelations of Motivation Scores

Rank Order Correlation Between	Predominant Class Status Assigned College		
	Middle Class White	Middle Class Black	Working Class Black
Achievement- Affiliation	+.14	+.28**	+.23*
Achievement- Power	+.19	+.19	-.03
Affiliation- Power	+.28**	+.16	+.22*
*p < .05			
**p < .01			

Table 4
Mean Motive Scores for Subjects from White Middle Class, Black
Middle Class, and Black Working Class Colleges

Class of College	N	Motive			All <u>Ss</u>
		Achievement	Affiliation	Power	
Middle White	1100	1.10	3.98	1.13	2.07
Middle Black	100	0.87	3.15	1.02	1.68
Working Black	100	0.31	2.71	0.52	1.18
All <u>Ss</u>	300	0.76	3.28	0.89	1.64

Analysis of Variance

Source	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between <u>Ss</u>	299		
College (C)	2	59.71	13.69*
Error	297	4.36	
Within <u>Ss</u>	600		
Motive (M)	2	603.97	215.70*
C x M	4	4.48	1.60
Error	594	2.80	
Total	899		

*p < .001

One difference among the groups does appear to have psychological as well as statistical significance. When the subjects in the three college groups were compared with respect to numbers of subjects scoring above zero on power motivation the frequency for the White Middle Class college group was much greater than for either black group. Sixty-five of the White Middle Class Sample achieved scores of greater than zero compared with 46 of the Middle Class Black college sample and 39 of the Working Class Black sample ($\chi^2 = 25.37$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$). It is tempting to interpret this frequent presence of power imagery in the protocols of the white sample to power striving associated with women's liberation, a movement largely staffed by recruits from the white middle class with little black representation.

Class Standing

The distribution of subjects by college class standing is presented in Table 5. An attempt was made to recruit into the samples only women who were juniors or seniors and this was by in large successful. However, the proportions of juniors and seniors are significantly different with the highest proportion of Seniors being in the white sample and the highest proportion of juniors being in the Working Class Black sample. The samples may be considered to be homogeneous with respect to class standing as the major proportion of each sample consists of upperclasswomen.

Educational Goals

Graduate Education

The subjects were asked if they planned to attend graduate school. Distributions of their responses appear in Table 6. The highest proportion of aspirants to graduate school occurs among the Middle Class Black college sample and this finding replicates a similar finding previously reported for men (Littig, 1968).

Occupational Aspirations

Race

In this section and the following sections the occupational aspirations of the subjects will be compared by considering the frequencies with which subjects in the three college groups aspire to occupations classified as traditionally open, traditionally closed, or other. The "other" category includes responses such as "don't know," "not sure," and "housewife." Essentially, it distinguishes a group of subjects who have no occupational aspirations or who are so uncertain of their aspirations that they are unable to state them.

Table 7 presents the frequencies with which black and white women aspire to the three occupational categories without respect to social class of college, that is, the two black samples are combined. The black and white samples are significantly different for both real and

Table 5
Distribution of Subjects by Academic Class

Academic Class	Predominant Class Status Assigned College					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Black		Working Class Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unclassified	0	0	0	0	2	2
Freshman	0	0	5	5	0	0
Sophomore	1	1	3	3	4	4
Junior	41	41	55	55	74	74
Senior	58	58	37	37	20	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2(4df) = 34.42, p < .001$ (Note--Comparison is of Juniors,
Sophomores, and Seniors only)

Table 6
Aspiration to Graduate Education by Type of College

Graduate Education	Predominant Class Status Assigned College					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Black		Working Class Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	64	64	84	84	51	51
No	28	28	14	14	49	49
Other	8	8	2	2	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2(2df) = 27.75, p < .001$ (Note--Comparison is of Yes and No responses only.)

Table 7
Race and Aspiration to Occupations Traditionally
Open and Closed to Women

Race	Aspiration					
	Real			Ideal		
	Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
Black	86	100	14	49	137	14
White	34	35	31	16	62	22
$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(2\text{df}) = 30.28, p < .001$ $\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(2\text{df}) = 15.17, p < .001$						

ideal occupational aspirations. The difference is due in part to a somewhat higher proportion of black women who aspire to occupations closed to women and a substantially higher proportion of white women who report "other" aspirations.

Race and Social Class

Table 8 compares the three samples. Again, statistical significance is present for both real and ideal aspirations. The high proportion of white women aspiring to "other" remains, of course, the same but now it may be seen in Table 8 that the Middle Class Black college women account for the higher proportion of black women aspiring to closed real occupations. The "other" category used with high frequency by the Middle Class White college sample contributes to the significance obtained for both real and ideal occupational aspirations. It is evident in Table 8 that the distributions of occupational aspirations are different for real and ideal goals for all three groups with each group aspiring more frequently to closed aspirations when asked their ideal goals. These shifts in aspiration are compared for each of the three samples in Table 9. For each group the shift is significant. When asked what they would really like to do if anything were possible there is a marked tendency for women from diverse backgrounds to indicate that they would prefer an occupation that traditionally has been closed to women.

Race, Social Class, and Motivation

Tables 10, 11, and 12 present the relationships between college class status, achievement, affiliation, and power motivation respectively, and occupational aspirations. In each instance there are no significant differences among the groups when aspirations to open and closed occupations only are considered. When comparisons are made which include the "other" category statistical significance is present for both real and ideal occupations. Again, this appears to be largely attributable to the uncertainty with respect to occupational goals on the part of the Middle Class White sample. In no instance is there a systematic relationship between occupational aspirations and motivation. Because of the small expected frequencies among the two black samples in the "other" category there is some question about the accuracy of the X^2 tests. Consequently, the two black samples were combined and comparisons were made between the Middle Class White sample and the combined black samples controlling for achievement (Table 13), affiliation (Table 14), and power motivation (Table 15). The same result was obtained with no significant differences being present when open and closed occupational aspirations only are compared but highly significant differences emerging when the "other" category is included. Again, the differences are attributable to the use of the "other" category by the Middle Class White college sample and its relative avoidance by the combined black samples. A relatively stable race-related aspirational phenomenon is present which is not further relatable to any of the three motivational variables.

Table 8

Aspirations of Middle Class White and Middle and Working Class Black
Women to Occupations Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

Race and Social Class	Aspiration					
	Real			Ideal		
	Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
Middle Class White	34	35	31	16	62	22
Middle Class Black	39	53	8	17	73	10
Working Class Black	47	47	6	32	64	4
$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(2df) = 31.62, p < .001$						
$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(2df) = 21.96, p < .001$						

Table 9

Race and Social Class and Women's Real and Ideal Aspirations
to Open and Closed Occupations

Race and Social Class	Occupation Type	Aspiration		
		Open	Closed	Other
Middle Class White ¹	Real	34	35	0.31r
	Ideal	16	62	22
Middle Class Black ²	Real	39	53	8
	Ideal	17	73	10
Working Class Black ³	Real	47	47	6
	Ideal	32	64	4

1. $\chi^2(2df) = 15.52, p < .001$

2. $\chi^2(2df) = 12.04, p < .01$

3. $\chi^2(2df) = 8.01, p < .02$

Table 10

College Class Status, Achievement Motivation, and Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

College Class Status	Ach Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
Middle Class White	High	11	14	13	8	22	7
	Low	23	21	18	9	40	14
Middle Class Black	High	13	21	2	7	24	5
	Low	26	32	6	10	49	5
Working Class Black	High	15	16	2	10	21	1
	Low	32	31	4	22	43	3

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(5\text{df}) = 2.15, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(5\text{df}) = 8.67, p < .20$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(10\text{df}) = 33.30, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(10\text{df}) = 22.57, p < .02$$

Table 11

College Class Status, Affiliation Motivation, and Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

College Class Status	Aff Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
Middle Class White	High	19	18	17	19	30	13
	Low	15	17	14	8	32	8
Middle Class Black	High	17	24	3	6	31	7
	Low	22	29	5	11	42	3
Working Class Black	High	23	22	2	11	19	1
	Low	24	25	4	21	45	3

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(5\text{df}) = 1.35, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(5\text{df}) = 6.48, p < .30$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(10\text{df}) = 36.20, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(10\text{df}) = 26.41, p < .01$$

Table 12

College Class Status, Power Motivation, and Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

College Class Status	Pow Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
Middle Class White	High	22	24	19	12	38	15
	Low	12	11	12	5	24	6
Middle Class Black	High	22	22	2	8	34	4
	Low	17	31	6	9	39	6
Working Class Black	High	13	15	4	12	16	1
	Low	34	32	2	20	48	3

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(5\text{df}) = 3.56, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(5\text{df}) = 8.23, p < .20$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(10\text{df}) = 35.23, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(10\text{df}) = 26.93, p < .01$$

Table 13

Race, Achievement Motivation, and Women's Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

Race	Ach Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
White	High	11	14	13	9	22	7
	Low	23	21	18	7	40	15
Black	High	28	37	4	17	45	6
	Low	58	63	10	32	92	8

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$X^2_{\text{real}(3\text{df})} = 1.04, p > .50$$

$$X^2_{\text{ideal}(3\text{df})} = 3.11, p > .30$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$X^2_{\text{real}(6\text{df})} = 31.76, p < .001$$

$$X^2_{\text{ideal}(6\text{df})} = 18.05, p < .01$$

Table 13

Race, Achievement Motivation, and Women's Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

Race	Ach Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
White	High	11	14	13	9	22	7
	Low	23	21	18	7	40	15
Black	High	28	37	4	17	45	6
	Low	58	63	10	32	92	8

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(3\text{df}) = 1.04, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(3\text{df}) = 3.11, p > .30$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(6\text{df}) = 31.76, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(6\text{df}) = 18.05, p < .01$$

Table 14
Race, Affiliation Motivation, and Women's Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

Race	Aff Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
White	High	11	14	13	9	22	7
	Low	23	21	18	7	40	15
Black	High	28	37	4	17	45	6
	Low	58	63	10	32	92	8

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(3\text{df}) = 1.04, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(3\text{df}) = 3.11, p > .30$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(6\text{df}) = 31.76, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(6\text{df}) = 18.05, p < .01$$

Table 15

Race, Power Motivation, and Women's Aspiration to Occupations

Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

Race	Power Mot	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
White	High	22	24	19	12	38	15
	Low	12	11	12	5	24	6
Black	High	35	37	6	20	50	5
	Low	51	63	8	29	87	9

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(3\text{df}) = .57, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(3\text{df}) = 1.44, p > .50$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(6\text{df}) = 30.92, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(6\text{df}) = 14.85, p < .05$$

Anxiety

In addition to the approach motives of achievement, affiliation, and power the avoidance disposition referred to as motive to avoid failure by Atkinson and Litwin (1960) was inferred from scores on the Test Anxiety Questionnaire (Mandler and Sarason, 1952). Table 16 presents the distributions of subjects on the Test Anxiety Questionnaire with respect to the median score (34.5) over all subjects. The three samples are significantly different with the greatest proportion of high scorers coming from the Working Class Black college sample and the smallest portion coming from the Middle Class Black college sample. The Middle Class White college sample distributes itself almost evenly about the median. In spite of these differences in magnitude of anxiety scores among the three samples there are no significant relationships between anxiety and occupational aspirations (Table 17). The usual pattern is present with the absence of significance when open and closed aspirations are compared and a presence of significance when the "other" category is included and the source of significance is attributable to the White Middle Class college group. When the two black samples are combined (Table 18) to increase the size of the expected frequencies within the black "other" category the same results persist.

Success Expectancies

In addition to being asked to state their real and ideal occupational goals the subjects were asked to associate with these goals the probabilities with which they expected to attain them. The mean success expectancies for each of the three samples for real and ideal occupational aspirations appear in Table 19. For all groups there is a higher expectancy of successful attainment of the real occupational goal than of the ideal occupational goal. There is, furthermore, a significant difference among the three college samples with respect to occupational goal attainment, regardless of the type of goal. It is the Middle Class Black college group that has the highest overall success expectancy and the Middle Class White college group that has the lowest overall expectation of success. There is an interaction present which helps to clarify this finding. This interaction can be described in terms of the discrepancies between expectations about the attainment of real goals and the attainment of ideal goals. That discrepancy for the Middle Class White college sample is 28.3; for the Middle Class Black college sample it is 16.6; for the Working Class Black college sample it is 9.6. In other words, the Working Class Black college sample has a relatively modest (59.5) expectancy of attaining their real goal and this does not drop markedly when the ideal goal is considered. The Middle Class Black college sample has a somewhat higher expectancy of attaining its real goals and the expectancy drops to about the level of the Working Class Black college sample when Ideal goals are reported. It is, unexpectedly, the Middle Class White college group that drops dramatically from a real goal expectancy minimally higher (59.7) than that of the Working Class Black college group to a very low (31.4) expectancy of success when ideal goal expectancies are considered.

Table 16

White Middle Class and Black Middle and Working Class Women Scoring
Above and Below the Total Group Test Anxiety Median (34.5)

	College Class Status					
	Middle Class White		Middle Class Black		Working Class Black	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Median						
Above	47	47	38	38	63	63
Below	53	53	62	62	37	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
$\chi^2(2df) = 12.83, p < .01$						

Table 17

College Class Status, Test Anxiety, and Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

College Class Status	Test Anxiety	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
Middle Class White	High	19	19	10	9	29	10
	Low	15	16	21	8	33	11
Middle Class Black	High	21	27	2	8	38	3
	Low	18	26	6	9	35	7
Working Class Black	High	21	24	4	12	25	3
	Low	26	23	2	20	29	1

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(5\text{df}) = 1.72, p > .50$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(5\text{df}) = 9.20, p < .20$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$\chi^2_{\text{real}}(10\text{df}) = 41.34, p < .001$$

$$\chi^2_{\text{ideal}}(10\text{df}) = 25.95, p < .01$$

Table 18
Race, Test Anxiety, and Women's Aspiration to Occupations
Traditionally Open and Closed to Women

Race	Test Anxiety	Aspiration					
		Real			Ideal		
		Open	Closed	Other	Open	Closed	Other
White	High	19	19	10	9	29	10
	Low	15	16	21	8	33	11
Black	High	41	51	6	20	73	6
	Low	44	49	8	29	64	8

Comparison of Open and Closed Only:

$$X^2_{\text{real}}(3\text{df}) = .20, p > .50$$

$$X^2_{\text{ideal}}(3\text{df}) = 2.48, p > .30$$

Comparison of Open, Closed, and Other:

$$X^2_{\text{real}}(6\text{df}) = 37.89, p < .001$$

$$X^2_{\text{ideal}}(6\text{df}) = 12.72, p < .05$$

Table 19

Mean Real and Ideal Success Expectancies of Middle Class White and
Middle Class and Working Class Black Women

Race and Social Class	Real	Ideal	Combined
Middle Class White	59.7	31.4	45.6
Middle Class Black	66.4	49.8	58.1
Working Class Black	59.5	49.9	54.7
Combined	61.9	43.9	52.9

Analysis of Variance

Source	df	MS	F
Between <u>Ss</u>	292		
College (C)	2	82.47	11.09*
Error	290	7.43	
Within <u>Ss</u>			
Expectancy (E)	1	484.10	101.09*
C x E	2	43.10	9.00*
Error	290	4.79	
Total	585		
*p < .01			

The explanation of this difference among these three groups is found in comparing the similarities and differences in their real and ideal occupational aspirations. Table 20 presents the frequencies with which each of the three college groups aspires to the same or different goals (including the "other" category) when asked about their real and their ideal occupational aspirations. It is clear that the Working Class Black sample in substantial proportion ascribes to the same ideal and real occupations and consequently are reporting the same expectancies for real and ideal occupations. The Middle Class White college sample is doing the opposite and this accounts for their relatively large discrepancy. The Middle Class Black college sample is in between the other two in terms of the size of its discrepancy between real and ideal expectations and in the frequencies with which its ideal and real aspirations coincide.

Table 20
College Class Status and Similarity of Real and
Ideal Occupational Aspirations

	Aspirations	
	Same	Different
Middle Class White	38	49
Middle Class Black	49	46
Working Class Black	59	37
$\chi^2(2df) = 6.12, p < .05$		

CHAPTER IV DISCUSSION

Few of the results of this study paralleled those obtained in comparable studies using male subjects (Littig, 1966; 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1968c; 1968d; 1969; 1971). Unlike those studies there were no systematical relationships between motivation and aspirations to traditionally open and closed occupations. One explanation of this absence of relationships lies in the difficulty of distinguishing, for women, occupations that are differentially open or closed as a function of race. Rather, it appears that we are dealing with a concept that is sex-related rather than race-related. Neither the white nor the black group manifested any consequences, either alike or different, that could be attributed to the motivation variables of achievement, affiliation, and power or the anxiety variable of fear of failure. To the extent that both white and black groups responded in the same random fashion with respect to motivation and occupational aspirations it perhaps is possible to infer that they have a similar perception of the occupational hierarchy as it affects them but that in neither group is that perception related to personality as it was when male subjects were employed.

There were, however, two differences which distinguished among the groups. Subjects whose aspirations could not be classified as either traditionally open or closed to women were significantly more prevalent among the Middle Class White college sample than among either the Middle Class Black or the Working Class Black college samples. This was the case for both their real and their ideal aspirations. Nonclassifiable responses were "housewife," "don't know," "not sure," or some equally vague and noncommittal answer. It would seem, then, that black women are significantly more work-oriented than white women, at least among college samples. They are more clearly attending college because it is instrumental to the achievement of an occupation than because of the other kinds of experiences a college education offers.

A second, and probably related, finding was that there was a rather great difference between the expectancy with which the women in the White Middle Class college sample believed they would attain their real goals and their expectancy of attainment of their ideal goals whereas among the Black Working Class college sample the discrepancy was quite small. This suggested that perhaps the latter group designated the same goals as their ideal goals as they did for their real goals whereas the former group, when asked to state their ideal goal, indicated something quite different from their real goal. The differences and similarities between real and ideal goals were examined and it was found that indeed the Working Class Black college group did indicate similar real and ideal goals where the Middle Class White group did not (the Middle Class Black group was

intermediate). It appears, then, that as a function of both race and social class, there are differences in setting real and ideal goals. Black working class college subjects remain concrete and reality-oriented when asked about what they would really like to do if anything were possible and consequently assign relatively high probabilities to the attainment of their ideal goal vis-a-vis their real goals. White middle class subjects, on the other hand, tend to be much more fanciful when stating ideal goals and as a result assign considerably lower probabilities to their attainment.

Attention should be called to another analysis of these data (Littig and Okediji, 1971; Okediji, 1971). The following question was addressed to the data: What is the relationship between motivation and aspiration to occupations with which motive-related incentives are associated? In that analysis significant relationships were found between strong achievement motivation and aspiration to occupations offering achievement-related incentive among the Middle Class White college sample and a significant relationship was found among the Working Class Black sample between power motivation and aspiration to occupations offering power-related incentives. An interpretation was made relating the former findings to the women's liberation movement and the latter findings to the black power movement.

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APPENDIX I
THE INSTRUMENTS

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Department of Psychology

TEST OF INSIGHT

This is a test of your understanding of the reasons why people behave as they do. You will be given a characteristic behavior of each of a number of women. Your task is to explain why each woman behaves as she does. Read each description and then decide what you think would be the reason why a woman does what this woman does. Decide what this person is like, what she wants to have or do, and what the results of her behavior are apt to be. If you think of more than one explanation give only the one you think is most likely. Write your answers in the spaces provided.

Name _____
(For research purposes)

1. Dorothy always lets the "other girl" win.
2. Sharon feels upset if she hears that anyone is criticizing or blaming her.
3. Rita enjoys organizing groups and committees.
4. Brenda is always willing to listen.
5. Ruth would rather follow than lead.

6. Linda never joins clubs or social groups.

7. Mary's friends can always depend on her for a loan.

8. Donna is always trying something new.

9. Joan said, "They probably won't ask me to go with them."

10. Gloria said, "I'm pretty sure I can do it."

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Department of Psychology

TEST OF INSIGHT

This is a test of your understanding of the reasons why people behave as they do. You will be given a characteristic behavior of each of a number of women. Your task is to explain why each woman behaves as she does. Read each description and then decide what you think would be the reason why a woman does what this woman does. Decide what this person is like, what she wants to have or do, and what the results of her behavior are apt to be. If you think of more than one explanation give only the one you think is most likely. Write your answers in the spaces provided.

Name _____
(For research purposes)

1. Dorothy always lets the "other girl" win.
2. Sharon feels upset if she hears that anyone is criticizing or blaming her.
3. Rita enjoys organizing groups and committees.
4. Brenda is always willing to listen.
5. Ruth would rather follow than lead.

6. Linda never joins clubs or social groups.
7. Mary's friends can always depend on her for a loan.
8. Donna is always trying something new.
9. Joan said, "They probably won't ask me to go with them."
10. Gloria said, "I'm pretty sure I can do it."

Howard University
Department of Psychology

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ATTITUDES TOWARD UNIVERSITY COURSE EXAMINATIONS

NAME (Please print) _____

This questionnaire is designed to give you an opportunity to indicate how and what you feel in regard to taking a course examination. One of the main reasons for constructing this questionnaire is the fact that very little is known about people's feelings toward the taking of various kinds of tests. We can assume that people differ in the degree to which they are affected by the fact that they are going to take a test or by the fact that they have taken a test. What we are particularly interested in here is how widely people differ in their opinions of and reactions to taking tests in college.

The value of this questionnaire will in large part depend on how frank you are in stating your opinions, feelings, and attitudes. Needless to say, your answers to the questions will be kept strictly confidential; they will under no circumstances be made known to any instructor or official of the university.

We are asking you to give your name only because it may be necessary for research purposes.

Each of you has had a course examination. We want to know your attitudes and feelings toward taking such a test and not what you think they should be. Please answer the questions in terms of your actual experiences.

For each question there is a line or scale on the ends of which are statements of opposing feelings or attitudes. In the middle of the line you will find either the word "Midpoint" or a phrase, both of which are intended to reflect a feeling or attitude which is in-between the statements of opposing feeling described above. You are required to put a mark (X) on that point on the line which you think best indicates the strength of your feeling or attitude about the particular question. The midpoint is only for your guidance. Do not hesitate to put a mark on any point on the line as long as that mark reflects the strength of your feeling or attitude.

If you have any questions at this time, please ask them now of the person who has passed out the questionnaire.

THERE ARE NO "CATCH" QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION AND EACH SCALE VERY CAREFULLY. THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT.

1. How valuable do you think course examinations are in determining what a person knows?

2. Do you think that course examinations should be used more widely than at present to classify students?

3. Would you be willing to stake your continuance in college on the results of one yearly examination on the materials you have covered in all your courses during the year?

THE MIDPOINT IS ONLY FOR YOUR GUIDANCE. DO NOT HESITATE TO PUT A MARK (X) ON ANY POINT ON THE LINE AS LONG AS THAT MARK REFLECTS THE STRENGTH OF YOUR FEELING OR ATTITUDE.

THE MIDPOINT IS ONLY FOR YOUR GUIDANCE. DO NOT HESITATE TO PUT A MARK (X) ON ANY POINT ON THE LINE AS LONG AS THAT MARK REFLECTS THE STRENGTH OF YOUR FEELING OR ATTITUDE.

4. Before taking a course examination, to what extent are you aware of an "uneasy feeling?"

_____/_____
Am not aware Midpoint Am very much
of it at all aware of it

5. When you are taking a course examination, to what extent do you feel your emotional reactions interfere with or lower your performance?

_____/_____
Do not interfere Midpoint Interfere a
with it at all great deal

6. If you know that you are going to take a course examination, how do you feel beforehand?

_____/_____
Feel very Midpoint Feel very
unconfident confident

7. After you have taken a course examination, how confident do you feel that you have done your best?

_____/_____
Feel very Midpoint Feel very
unconfident confident

8. While taking a course examination, to what extent do you experience an accelerated heartbeat?

_____/_____
Heartbeat does Midpoint Heartbeat noticeably
not accelerate accelerated

THE MIDPOINT IS ONLY FOR YOUR GUIDANCE. DO NOT HESITATE TO PUT A MARK (X) ON ANY POINT ON THE LINE AS LONG AS THAT MARK REFLECTS THE STRENGTH OF YOUR FEELING OR ATTITUDE.

THE MIDPOINT IS ONLY FOR YOUR GUIDANCE. DO NOT HESITATE TO PUT A MARK (X) ON ANY POINT ON THE LINE AS LONG AS THAT MARK REFLECTS THE STRENGTH OF YOUR FEELING OR ATTITUDE.

9. Before taking a course examination, to what extent do you experience an accelerated heartbeat?

Heartbeat does not accelerate at all Midpoint Heartbeat noticeably accelerated

10. While taking a course examination to what extent do you worry?

Worry a lot Midpoint Worry not at all

11. Before taking a course examination to what extent do you worry?

Worry a lot Midpoint Worry not at all

12. While taking a course examination to what extent do you perspire?

Never perspire Midpoint Perspire a lot

13. Before taking a course examination to what extent do you perspire?

Never perspire Midpoint Perspire a lot

14. When, in your opinion, you feel well prepared for a course examination, how do you usually feel just before the examination?

Confident Midpoint Anxious

THE MIDPOINT IS ONLY FOR YOUR GUIDANCE. DO NOT HESITATE TO PUT A MARK (X) ON ANY POINT ON THE LINE AS LONG AS THAT MARK REFLECTS THE STRENGTH OF YOUR FEELING OR ATTITUDE.

Howard University

Office of Education

Questionnaire on Vocational Goals of Students

Your cooperation in being asked in a study of the kinds of occupations students look forward to achieving upon leaving. Your answers to these questions will be kept strictly confidential and will not be made available to any school officials. We are asking for this information for research purposes only.

1. Name _____
2. Class: Freshman ____ Sophomore ____ Junior ____ Senior ____
3. Birthdate: Year _____ Month _____ Day _____
4. Major field: _____
5. Year you expect to graduate: _____
6. Do you plan to go on to graduate or professional school?
Yes _____ No _____
(If yes) What degree do you plan to study for? _____
7. One year after completing your education, what job do you expect to have? Please be specific.

8. Five years after completing your education, what job do you plan to have? Please be specific.

9. On the line below please put a mark (x) at the point which best indicates what you think your chances are of having that job five years from now.

/_____ Absolutely certain I will have it. 100% chance	_____ A 50% chance I will have it.	_____ Absolutely certain I will not have it. 0% chance
--	--	---

10. How much effort do you feel you are putting into achieving the job you plan to have five years from now? Place mark on the line.

/-----/

A very great effort Midpoint No effort at all

11. If it were possible for you to have ANY job in the world, what job would you choose one year after completing your education? (Note: this could be the job you expect to have or any other job. What we would like to know is what your "dream job" is. Please be specific).

12. What job would you most like to have five years after completing your education if it were possible for you to have any job in the world?

13. On the line below please put a mark (X) at the point which best indicates what you think your chances are of having your "dream job" five years from now?

/-----/

Absolutely certain A 50% chance I Absolutely certain
I will have it. will have it. I will not have it.
100% chance 0% chance

14. How much effort do you feel you are putting into achieving your "dream job" five years from now. Place a mark on the line.

/-----/

A very great effort Midpoint No effort at all

15. What would you say is the most important factor which would prevent you from achieving your "dream job?"

16. What do you expect your annual income will be during your first year after completing your education?

17. What do you expect your annual income will be during your fifth year after completing your education?

18. What is your father's occupation? Please be specific, describe what he does if necessary. (If deceased, what did he do?)

19. What was your father's highest level of academic achievement?

(Please circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Some College

College graduate

Post-graduate and Professional

20. What is your mother's occupation? Please be specific. (If deceased, what did she do?)

21. What was your mother's highest level of academic achievement?

(Please circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Some college

College graduate

Post-graduate and Professional

22. What is your parents' annual income?

23. What is your hometown?

City _____ State (or foreign country) _____

24. What is your grade point average? _____ (Guess, if necessary)

25. Which of the following terms best describes your family (Please check)

Upper Class _____
Middle Class _____
Working Class _____
Lower Class _____

26. Are your parents married _____, separated, _____, divorced _____,
other _____?

(Explain)